/119 cont./

000 and bilocal groups of families. The group of families -- the
621 multiplicity of relationships permits no other designation --
431 is therefore the next smaller constituent element of the village unit; to be sure, the ceremonial gift-exchange emphasizes the subdivision of the village, in that it underlines the affiliation of the partner to one of the two other groups of families, but, on the other hand, also joins the three groups of families as common inhabitants of the same village.

It might now seem that the group of families, which appears in the gift-exchange as a functional unit, is only a chance conglomeration of nuclear families and thus of minor importance.
621 It comes into operation, however, on another decisive occasion,
166 namely, in connection with /120/ the migratory movements, which I shall sketch for you in a few words. The inhabitants of a
[361] village never remain longer than about three to four weeks in their
[342] main village, that clearing in the virgin forest with relatively permanently built houses; then they leave home for a period at least equally long, but seldom farther away than one to two days of travel, and build themselves in a favorable spot in the forest a row of small, triangular huts which are just large enough to provide room for a nuclear family, i.e., the parents and their unmarried children. The new place is chosen according to the
262 possibilities that it offers for gathering forest fruits and for hunting;
245 nevertheless economic reasons are not actually the cause for this
194 migration, for even during this period they continue to live from
166 the very fruitful banana planting near the main village. About every ten days a group of men go and fetch additional supplies of bananas, which the Waika today use for about 90 per cent
[222] of their diet. To be sure, during this forest period they live on
[224] gathered fruits and by hunting more than they do in the main village, and we shall therefore hardly go wrong in assuming that there are involved in these short-term forest sojourns traditionally preserved reminiscences of the era of pure hunting for wild food on the part of the Waika, undoubtedly still not very far in the past.

/120 cont./

621 166 241 These periodically recurring radial movements from a fixed center (the village with its planting) do not affect, in sociological respects, the substance of the village: normally the whole village migrates. In this respect, however, it is different with regard to a second type of village movement, which is not characterized by the going back and forth of the short forest-sojourns, but rather takes place over longer periods of time and only in one direction. The Waika live only about five years from one planting and then move to a new one laid out beforehand, which is usually about a day's journey away. Practically every village known to us has an old and a new planting, for since the chonta palm (Guilielma gasipaes), still cultivated today and useful in many ways, has a different life span than the various types of bananas, overlapping in the utilization of the plantings cannot be [173] avoided. If a newly established planting is bearing enough bananas, the whole village is moved to the new planting: the names and the site of earlier plantings are remembered exactly, however, so that from this the history of each individual village, i.e., its shifting in Waika territory, and consequently the history of the Waika themselves in their territorial aspect, can be reconstructed 621 for two to three generations. Such a move to a new place, how- 166 ever, is also the occasion for changes in the composition of the 161 village, for a split as a rule, for in the meantime, because of the 173 enormous /121/ surplus of births, which the Waika have to register today, the village has grown far beyond the limit of the number of persons that can be governed well under their institution-poor system. The partition of the village is not done at discretion, but exactly along the lines of separation indicated by the above- [431] mentioned composition by groups of families. One or more groups [182] of families are the bearers of the new villages, and the memory of the way the new village was founded by the union of several groups of families is ceremonially represented as shown, in the gift-exchange.

/121 cont./

166 221 241 182 Therefore two types of nomadism are superimposed on each other in the migratory movements of the Waika: the nomadism of the very active hunting for wild food, which is represented today as a radial movement from an agricultural central-point, stamps the annual cycle, whereas the agricultural village-move, which follows the fields cleared by burning, occurs in a cycle of a few years and has a greater spatial range than the wild-food forays. To express it in a different manner: a wild-food nomadism more restricted spatially and temporally fills out the periods of the more extended agricultural migrations. Even at the ends of these periods, when both cycles overlap, they are felt by the Waika to be quite different matters and not mutually substitutable: after they have worked for a time in the new, scarcely begun planting, and the external reasons for a forest sojourn (such as change of living place and more favorable possibilities for gathering and hunting) are assuredly present, they still move off once more in the traditional manner to another place in the forest -- the laying out of a new plantation, even with the great similarity of external circumstances, is basically different from the forest life of hunting for wild food and in no way a substitute for it.

162 621 182 174 The short sojourns in the forest are, as was said, usually made by the whole village, whereas with the laying out of new plantings the group of families comes into the foreground as the working unit. One might conclude from this fact that the formation and the sociological importance of the groups of families is connected with the introduction of agriculture. I should like to make the opposite conclusion, however, that merely the old wild-food settlement-unit has maintained itself in these groups of families in the present larger agricultural village-society. The relationship of the groups of families to hunting for wild food is clear from the fact that the gift-exchange carried on by the groups of families is quite predominantly an exchange of meat, to which a few roasted bananas are added, and can only take place after a hunt.

105 621 182 Thus the sociological findings regarding the larger social unit of the Yanoama reflect the picture of the other cultural

Pakidái
Surára

/61 cont./

622 together for several years, both in the sierra during the dry season
619 and at the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Rio Aracá during the
624 rainy season. In the long run, however, the war chief Porõhiwõ did not like this, and there were also differences of opinion with the young chief, so he and his brother Kaxiribewõ, with their families temporarily withdrew from the tribe and remained alone in Taraquá, the Pakidái maloka on the middle Demini.

As a result of the youthful exuberance of the not yet fully mature Pakidái chief Karenauõ, the previously good relationship between the Surára and Pakidái was unfortunately slightly disturbed. Yet Karenauõ really had every reason to be grateful to Hewemão.

769 The discord began in March 1956 during the great festival
619 in memory of the dead, which the Surára as hosts and the Pakidái
622 as guests always celebrate together, and in which some friendly Pusheweteri and Xiriána families also took part. During this gathering it is customary for Hewemão to be acknowledged as the head by the guests, even by their chiefs, and for his orders to be followed. Young Karenauõ, however, refused to do this. He suddenly felt himself very strong because the member of Pakidái, of course, is considerably larger than that of the Surára. The rivalry between the chiefs increased from day to day and extended even to the members of the two tribes. It was only thanks to the magnanimous, wise attitude of Hewemão and the mediation of the chief of the Pakidái, Porõhiwõ, who returned to his tribe and exerted great influence, that greater tensions or even military encounters could be avoided. This was only to be welcomed, for there is a long, traditional friendship between the two tribes, which has deepened consanguineously as a result of intermarriages.

●(166) When the festival was over, at the end of March 1956, the Pakidái again moved to /62/ Taraquá on the middle Demini and the Surára to the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá. But at this point I was to experience a great surprise. Three Pakidái men, with their families, no longer followed their chief Karenauõ, but joined Hewemão and thus actually emigrated to the Surára.

/79 cont./

241 wood is well dried out, the clearing is set afire and the potash that remains constitutes fertilizer at the same time. Large trunks, stumps, and branches that did not burn up are simply left lying and the crops are planted in between (Ill. 37). Only in the center [361] of the clearing is a circle about 50-60 meters in diameter completely cleaned up, for here an open or closed circular maloka [622] is erected. This roca (forest clearing) -- hikarf --, which surrounds the community house, is then divided up by the chief among the individual families, so that they may plant here banana plants, pupunha palms, manioc, taioba, carš, cotton, [462] tobacco, etc. (368). Clearing and planting, along with weeding,

[184]

368. Since an interest in agriculture has not been aroused in all families, however, it happens that some may relinquish their share, which is then worked by another family.

falls to the men; the women help only with the harvest. Since [134] the soil is very infertile, however, /80/ for it has only a thin humus layer which is constantly being leached out by the tropical rains, the cultivation of tubers is possible for at most three years (369).

[132]

369. The luxuriant growth of the forest may be explained only by the humidity and warmth of the climate, which, like hothouse air, accelerates the circulation of nutrients.

241 Then the work of clearing and burning off begins anew beyond
36 the previous circular strip of field. This may be repeated several
166 times, so that the maloka is finally surrounded by three, four, or more ring-shaped fields, until one day the tribe builds its maloka 245 at another place and lays out new fields. Banana trees and pupunha palms are left standing in the old clearings, but are always planted also in the new ones, since these fruit trees yield for 6-8 years or 50 years (pupunha palm); their fruits are regularly harvested, even on long-abandoned, distant fields.

Surára
Pakidái

/80 cont./

241 166 361 It is worth mentioning that at present in the course of one year the Surára as well as the Pakidái regularly carry on their field work in two places that are far apart. During the rainy season, April-September, the Surára, as is well known, live at the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá and the Pakidái on a right tributary of the middle Demini, where they also own fields. On the other hand, they spend the summer season together in the large, open Surára maloka (between the Demini and Aracá rivers), around which was laid out a roça which was large enough to be divided among the Surára and Pakidái families. Thus, both tribes always have the benefit of abundant harvests at their permanent dwelling sites. In addition, there are the bananas and pupunha fruits of the abandoned fields, to which the entire tribe travels at the time of this harvest, or gathering expeditions are undertaken to bring in chestnuts, inga, and other kinds of wild fruits.

241 423 Since, however, on account of the seminomadic way of life of these Indians, one forest clearing or another is left untended for shorter or longer periods, there is the danger that in the meantime members of hostile tribes will break in and take possession of the produce there. Provision is made for this, however. Before the tribe leaves one of its clearings, a few men commissioned by the chief stick several wooden arrow points and thorns of the pupunha palm, coated with poison, into the ground and put leaves over them. Hostile Indians with plunder in view therefore risk the danger of running these into their legs (370).

[291] 370. All Indians of this region go barefoot.

[184] As I was told, this custom is resorted to by all Yanomámi tribes, and for this reason no Indian would ever think of setting foot on the deserted clearing of another tribe (371).

[114] 371. This hint may be of the greatest importance for research travelers who want to work in this region.

/461 cont./

361 Regardless of what type of dwelling has been built in the set-
• 166 tlement near the "conuco," it is the custom of the Guaika that all leave the settlement after a stay of three to six weeks, when they go off either to visit other settlements or to build another temporary seat within the forest, several miles away from their "conuco."

The groups which have semipermanent dwellings return to the same site and to their same dwellings, while those who use only temporary dwellings settle down in another new locality and build new dwellings, for which they have brought the leaves which roofed the ranchos abandoned on the former site. After an old settlement has not been occupied for at least six months the Indians who return from one of these trips in the forest will sometimes stay in such settlements. The "niguas" will have disappeared during this period of six months.

On any site to which the Guaika habitually return, the trees are sooner or later destroyed, leaving the area of the settlement completely cleared.

342 The Guaika build temporary shelters during their hunting trips, and also when they stop overnight while traveling to visit other settlements or on the return trips from such visits. The type of construction is the same as that of the temporary dwellings built on the sites near the "conuco," except that the covering of the roofs consists of easily found large leaves, such as those of the wild platano.

241 The Guaika are continually preparing new "conucos." After a
361 new "conuco" some distance away begins to produce, they may divide their time between both "conucos" in proportion to the quantity of platanos which the old and new "conuco" are producing. Then, as the old "conuco" ceases to produce, they begin to live almost entirely on the new site. But during the harvest /462/ the fruit of the "pijiguao" palm, they spend some time near the "conucos" which have stopped producing platanos, where in contrast, the "pijiguao" palm is at its best time.

If a Guaika family wants to change its place of residence for another settlement, all of the new "conucos" of this family will be prepared in or near that settlement. Thus, after a few years, this family can spend all of its time in its new place of residence, in the other settlement, if this is desired.

/468 cont./

Traveling and Transportation

487 They make almost all their trips on foot by paths and trails. Bridges are built over the largest rivers. Other rivers are waded or crossed on tree trunks.

/469/ New paths are marked by breaking branches in passing. On old roads they indicate the path or paths which have not been taken, leaving some object or a little pile of leaves at the entrance of same. A stick may be tied to an abandoned dwelling to indicate in what direction the former occupant has moved. 621 (A settlement may split up into groups when it abandons the 166 site in the area of the "conuco," and therefore this sign does not necessarily mean that the entire settlement has gone off in that direction.)

• 166 The Guaika /Waica/ travel frequently, but generally not 628 very far. The nearest settlement -- perhaps a day away -- is usually as far as they go. The settlement beyond this might be an enemy settlement, or at least not very friendly. Even neighboring settlements have such bad relations with one another that 628 they rarely visit among themselves. But the settlements which 574 are on friendly terms visit each other very frequently, and, when both live in the areas of the conucos, visitors come and go between them every few days.

574 The reasons for visiting are principally to see friends or to stay until their own "conuco" (which might be in a period of little production) begins to produce again.

Standards of Living

513 The Guaika /Waica/ consider it essential to sleep every [349] night under a roof. Thus, they always build some sort of shelter.

A fire is also essential. A Guaika will not sleep without [354] a fire at night. He needs it to obtain heat and to protect himself from animals, and with the fire he feels safer from evil spirits.

/152/

574 628 721 [262] [411] The majority of those from the aldea of Bisheasetjeti accepted the invitation. They entered Liatcoatjeti, hanging their hammocks from the trees, and they were served a soup made of boiled ripe plantains. Then suddenly they were attacked with axes, machetes, and other weapons. The leaders and the oldest were attacked first, and most of them died, but many of the younger men managed to escape, dropping everything and running for their lives. The enemies who were lying in wait outside also took the same road as those who had fled from the aldea.

727 The majority of the women were captured, but at the first opportunity all of the older ones escaped and returned to Bisheasetjeti. But the younger girls were afraid to run away, and for that reason most of them are now the wives of the men of Liacoatjeti or of their friends.

628 731 [499] The aldea of Majecototjeti (Platanal) was short of food. They constructed a bridge over the Orinoco and crossed it to make a visit to Bisheasetjeti and stay until their own farms might be able to produce more food. The people of Majecototjeti came to Bisheasetjeti just at the moment when those who had managed to escape were arriving and reassembling.

628 411 721 A messenger was sent to Yabitjaotjeti for arrows, and about six or seven boys from Yabitjaotjeti came with him, each one carrying a large bundle of darts /dardos, darts, lances/. These were quickly put together and their points put on. Bisheasetjeti was rearmed, and Majecototjeti better armed than before and ready to attack. The site of the aldea of Bisheasetjeti was abandoned at this time, for fear that the enemies might follow them to it. Both aldeas lived on what was produced by that of the Majecotatjeti /sic/. They crossed the Orinoco every three days to obtain a load of bananas from the farm located on the north bank.

166 722 628

One of the times when they came to get food, they found that the river had carried off the bridge. No one had a boat, and they could not cross. About three days later the men of Majecototjeti returned to the river and built their houses on the cleared place of the aldea. Meanwhile they lived in the forest near there. One day, that is to say after the aldea was ready,

000

/156 cont./

721 123 In December of 1953 the Shibaatía-tjeti came back to make another raid, accompanied by the Comishibueitjeti. But the Majecototjeti had camped outside, on the other side of the river. Some of the Shibaatía-tjeti approached us carrying an arrow, but leaving their bows in the woods with the other men. They explained that they were friendly visitors and asked where the Majecototjeti were, because they were supposed to visit them. [302] [574] [822] But their black war-paint showed that they had come on a raid. (Visitors are painted with red or mulberry color, but not black.) When they saw that they were not going to get us to tell them where the people were, they asked us to give them matches and [412] fishhooks. They gave us in exchange some knives made of tooth. After this things calmed down, but from this time on the people [361] of Majecototjeti have lived inside their palisades when they were near their main farm.

166 361 721 The people of Majecototjeti started a new farm called "Joitja-tjeca" to the south of the Orinoco, where they could live without palisades and feel safe from raids by the Shibaatía-tjeti. The Majecototjeti did not plan any retaliatory raid, because they said, "None of our men have been killed."

727 361 [114] In September of 1954 I had camped with the Majecototjeti at their new farm to the south of the Orinoco River. Everybody was calmer there, and they seemed to feel freer than at any time since the first raid by the Shibaatía-tjeti had put them on the alert almost a year before.

222 Anyone who wished to do so could go out and gather fruit, fish, or hunt crabs, even in small groups. The boys were having [226] [411] [859] fun shooting at the fish in the many streams with their little arrows of split palm shoots and bows made of a curved stick and a piece of twisted bark. It was the season of the moriche fruit, and the /187/ women went out almost every day and came back carrying 726 baskets full of this fruit. One afternoon about 1:00 P.M. some came to the aldea and said that a great number of tracks had been seen not far from the aldea. A group of men went out to investigate.

/164 cont./

729 new place located several hundred meters away. The matadores
783 went into the thicker underbrush and the other people remained some distance away. They could not touch anything that they
[413] were to eat, but rather had to reach for it with a stick. They had a special stick with which they scratched themselves. (Later their hammocks were hung in a certain type of tree, tied to the
[352] trunk, and made secure at the spot with vines. When the old hammocks were discarded, they lay down in new hammocks of vines especially made for this purpose and painted and adorned with feathers.) We remained in this camp for about three days, until the matadores thought the ciclo /cycle, term/ completed.

726 Later I learned the details of how the raid took place. The first aldea into which they penetrated was empty, and so was the second, and apparently the same was true at the site of the principal aldea. To obtain at least some revenge, the Bishbasetjeti began to knock down all of the crops which they found on that farm. The others joined in the destruction. All of the plantains were cut down and all of the root crops were pulled up, so that it would be at least a year before the farm would again produce so much food. Nevertheless, the other farm was not destroyed. /Illustration appears here./

/165/ But even then the chief was not satisfied. "The revenge for spilt blood must be with spilt blood." Thus the raiders advanced and found recent tracks, at last. The Liacoatjeti were camping out in the forest. They found a man alone and killed him. At this the chief gave the order to return home.

The Liacoatjeti pursued the raiders and finally found them camping on the bank of the southwest side of the Mavaca River. The Liacoatjeti attacked and killed one man. They were said to have lost two men in this.

[764] The extra week that they were gone was required for them to go some distance and burn the body of the dead warrior. It was too far to carry him and burn him at home.

● 166 Since they had fallen out with the Liacoatjeti, the
361 Majecototjeti had abandoned their farm south of the Orinoco and made a new one, this time farther down the river and on the north side.

a newly planted sucker, the more quickly it will bear fruit. Hence, if the Yąnomamö wish to establish a garden that will produce a crop in the shortest period of time, they must plant large cuttings. These can weigh up to 10 pounds each, and transportation of the cuttings becomes a tremendous task.

As will be made clear later, most long moves are usually stimulated by warfare, and the group is under some pressure to establish a new garden as quickly as possible. The Yąnomamö can speed up their schedule of abandoning an area by taking temporary refuge in the village of an ally, by planting crops other than plantains that mature quickly and produce high yields, or by anticipating a serious war and getting an early start on their new garden. When Kąobawä's group was forced to abandon one of its locations because of a war, the group took refuge with an ally and established its new garden near the ally's village. One of the consequences of these factors is that newly established gardens produce their crops in cycles so that there will be periods of plenty interrupted by periods of hunger. After a few years, the garden will mature and produce constantly. The periods of hunger are eased by planting rapidly developing crops such as maize and by working constantly at transplanting the secondary plantain shoots as they appear. Thus, gardening activities vary largely with the relative maturity of the garden and the length of time the people have been living at that site. Once the plantains are producing constantly, other crops are not cultivated as intensively as before. But whatever the Yąnomamö are eating in a given village, they are striving to get their gardens to produce a constant supply of plantains. The fact that a given village may be relying very heavily on maize at some point in time may reflect no more than the fact that the garden is relatively new and the plantains have not yet begun producing constantly.

After a site has been occupied a few years, gardening activities take on a more regular pattern. The "rectum" (*hei kä hasi*) of the garden is gradually abandoned, and a new "nose" (*hei kä hashibö*) is added by clearing adjacent land and transplanting crops. Thus, a garden has a direction—it moves, little by little. Sometimes there will be as many as three or four discrete gardens around a village, all of them producing more or less continuously. The older ones are gradually abandoned because it is simply easier to clear new land than to attempt to weed the thorny underbrush out of the old site. If you have ever attempted to clear prickly brush without wearing protective clothing, you should immediately see the wisdom of the Yąnomamö choice.

In an established garden site, labor follows a more regular pattern. The dry season is usually the time for feasting, visiting, trading, and warfare. Gardening activities are at a minimum at this time of year, but the ambitious will try to work a few hours each day at weeding, transplanting, and burning brush. Most of the heavy labor of felling large trees is restricted to the wet season, when it is cloudy and generally cooler, and the demands of feasting and dancing do not interfere with the work. Still, practical considerations are more important than a fixed schedule of work, and if the gardens are producing insufficient quantities of food, the Yąnomamö will expand their gardens at any time of the year.

GARDEN PRODUCTS Each man's garden contains three or four varieties of both plantains and bananas. The larger portion of the cultivated land will contain plantains, as they produce a higher yield than bananas. The garden will also have a sizeable patch of sweet manioc, a root crop that is boiled or refined into a rough flour by grinding it on a rock and then converting the flour into thick, round cakes of baked cassava bread.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

*621 *623 Village size is an important factor in determining the degree to which a Yąnomamö group must depend on its neighbors for military support in the face of raids. Small villages must make alliances to survive. Village size, as I mentioned in Chapter 1, ranges *621 701 722 from 40 to 250 inhabitants. Approximately one-third of the village consists of males who are able to participate in the raiding, that is, men who are between 17 and 40 years old. The tactics of warfare are such that a village must be able to field a raiding party of approximately 10 men in order to be able to raid effectively. In addition, when the raiders are away, there must always be a few men at home to protect the women and children. Thus, the military requirements alone seem to demand that a village have at least 15 able-bodied men. As these represent about a third of the group, the minimum village size required by the raiding techniques is 40 to 50 people. I have never seen a village fall below this size in an area where raiding is active, and virtually every village split I investigated took place only when each of the resulting groups contained 40 or more people.

*621 721 726 The upper limit to village size is also determined in large measure by the intensity of warfare. The village of Patanowä-teri, for example, has over 200 people. It was being raided actively by about a dozen different groups while I conducted my fieldwork, groups that raided it about twenty-five times in a period of fifteen months. The Patanowä-teri at one time had split into three groups of about equal size, but raids from their enemies forced them to reunite for common defense. In general, a village will fission after it [578] reaches a population of about 150 because internal feuds and fights are so frequent that peace can only be maintained with great difficulty. A village of 100 individuals, for example, can fission to produce two militarily viable groups of about 50 people each. Only the threat of raids from powerful neighbors will, as in the case of the Patanowä-teri, inhibit the fissioning, and frequently the fission groups will reunite in a single village to fend off the raids of their enemies.

[628] But a small group of 40 to 50 people is not as viable as a group twice that size. Consequently, it enters into alliances with its neighbors.

*621 582 166 FISSION AND SETTLEMENT There is a tendency for the group to attempt to maximize its size after it becomes an independent entity. This is done by trying to keep all marriages within the group so that there is very little migration of young men and women to other villages after marriage. A small group also welcomes the addition of families from other villages, families that have gotten into fights in their own group and who prefer to leave rather than attempt to patch up their grievances with their kinsmen. Finally, the group tries to attract young men and women from other villages, encouraging them to settle permanently in the group. Rerebawä, for example, is under considerable pressure to remain permanently in Kąobawä's group.

*621 578 837 As the village grows in size and varies in composition, it becomes increasingly difficult to keep order and peace. Extramarital sexual liaisons are more frequent in larger villages, because the probability is lower that the affairs will be discovered. When the Monou-teri rejoined Kąobawä's group to avoid the raids of their enemies, a bloody club fight developed between two men of that village over an affair one of them had with the other's wife. The culprit waited until the group joined Kąobawä's village before approaching the woman, thinking that with so many people in one village he would not be caught.

By the time a village approaches 100 to 150 people, such fights over women are

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ16 Yanoama SQ18

102
138
361
166